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## Reds O.K. — Not CIA

Has America lost its balance? Its reason?

On Saturday, THE ASSOCIATED PRESS reported that The Communist Party Forum has been given official recognition by the University of California at Berkeley as a valid student organization. The group was organized by Bettina Aptheker, daughter of U. S. Communist Party leader Herbert Aptheker, for the avowed purpose of bringing "speakers" to that already troubled school.

The story contained exactly 97 words in four sentences and three paragraphs. We waited for reaction or objection—in vain.

Another story broke out of Washington yesterday quoting officials of the National Student Association as saying that well-respected organization has been subsidized since the early 1950s by the Central Intelligence Agency. They stated that the CIA "believed that a strong American national union of students acting internationally was in the national interest." No intelligence functions were involved, the NSA said.

In the 24 hours which followed, the news services have turned out tens of thousands of words on the CIA's involvement. Virulent commentators have screamed "infiltration" and "subversion."

In other words, it is perfectly proper to foster communism on the college campus . . . but never Americanism!

CPYRGHT

# C.I.A. Aid on Campus

## U.S. Efforts to Counter Influence of Communists Hurt by N.S.A. Disclosure

CPYRGHT

By JAMES RESTON  
 Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14—The United States Government's efforts to counter Communist influence in the universities, press and trade unions of the world have been seriously hampered by the disclosure that the Central Intelligence Agency has been helping to finance the National Student Association since 1952. It is understood that

### News Analysis

President Johnson has instructed the C.I.A. to liquidate all secret aid programs to student groups and to review all other programs designed to combat Communist activities in other private organizations.

The controversy goes beyond the agency's financial help to the student association. It involves the relationship between the C.I.A. and private foundations that served as a cover for the agency's funds. It involves other foundations, such as the Ford Foundation, which also gave money of its own to the N.S.A.

It places in jeopardy C.I.A. programs to anti-Communist publications, radio and television stations, and labor unions. And it embarrasses a number of former officials of the student association, who knew about the secret funds to the association and are now serving in important positions in the Government.

The history of the C.I.A.'s aid to the student group helps explain both the policy and the embarrassing consequences of that policy. The first C.I.A. aid to the association was negotiated in 1952 by William Densor, then president of the student organization. He is now United States aid director in Peru.

This is one of the awkward problems of the current controversy. For present Government officials who were privy to the C.I.A.-N.S.A. financial arrangements when they were students are now likely to be identified with the Central Intelligence Agency by Communists even though these officials no longer have anything to do with the agency.

Among these former student association officials now with Government are Ralph A. Dungan, United States Ambassador to Chile and former special assistant to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson; Robert Smith, special assistant to the director

of the Agency for International Development; assistant Postmaster General Richard James Murphy; and S. Douglass Cater Jr., special assistant to President Johnson, though Mr. Cater was an official of the student group before the C.I.A. program started.

The reason for establishing C.I.A. help to the student association, however, is perfectly clear. In the years immediately after the second world war, the Soviet Union took the lead in trying to organize and propagandize the world student movement.

In 1946, when the first World Student Congress met in Prague, the Communist delegations gained control of several key positions, and imposed the Moscow delegation's agenda on the meeting.

The first Soviet vice president of the International Union of Students, for example, was Aleksandr N. Sholepin, who later became chairman of the Soviet State Security Committee.

The American delegates to the first meeting of the union of students first opposed any open break with the Communists, but after the Communist conquest of Czechoslovakia in 1948, when many students opposed the coup, the Americans finally broke away from the union of students and organized their own student association.

### Financial Contrast

From the first, however, the American students were hampered by lack of funds, while the union of students had enough money to put on world youth festivals, world rallies, conferences and forums, and regional conferences.

All but the last two of these festivals were held in Communist countries: Prague (1947); Budapest (1949); East Berlin (1951); Bucharest (1953); Warsaw (1955); Moscow (1957); Vienna (1959) and Helsinki (1962). The ninth festival has been scheduled for Bulgaria in 1968.

The estimate here is that the Moscow festival alone, which brought students from all over the world, and especially from the underdeveloped world, cost in the neighborhood of \$100 million.

Against this sort of competition, the American student leaders were in trouble. Ironically, though they were opposed by the Communist leaders of

maliciously conserve, e, they were opposed at home as being too far to the left.

The students were able to raise very little money for organization or transportation, though somehow left-wing American students managed to get funds to attend student meetings abroad.

It was against this background that the N.S.A. officials approached the United States Government in 1952 and re-

ceived some financial help from the Central Intelligence Agency, then under President Truman and the director, William Donovan.

In the last seven or eight years, the agency is understood to have put up an average of \$200,000 a year for the student association, this amounts to about 25 per cent of the association's annual budget.

This was, of course, known to Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. The Senate committee that oversees the C.I.A. was also informed about the program.

Other agencies also helped the student association in special projects. Among them were the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Department of State, and the Agency for International Development.

However the disclosure by Ramparts magazine of the C.I.A. aid to the student association created a problem for President Johnson. The need for continued American participation in the world student movement still exists; Communist efforts to influence the student leaders of the developing world continues; Communist aid to labor union leaders and newspaper and radio and television organizations goes on; but secret C.I.A. aid to these organizations, particularly to university students, creates political difficulties for the President.

Mr. Johnson is already under severe criticism among some elements on the nation's campuses. Universities have been criticized for accepting special research grants from the C.I.A.

Representative Wright Patman, Democrat of Texas, has been threatening to investigate the foundations of the country for years, and these latest disclosures are not likely to discourage his efforts in this field.

This helps explain much of the activity here over the intelligence agency-student association, story in the last few days. It is understood that Michael Wood, a fund raiser for the student group last year, who was subsequently discharged, wrote a long memorandum for Ramparts magazine on the intelligence agency connection.

When officials here heard about the forthcoming publication of the Ramparts story, Allen W. Dulles, and John Mc-

Cole, former C.I.A. directors, were advised. So were members of the Senate's C.I.A. committee and Senators J. W. Fulbright and Eugene McCarthy.

When President Johnson was informed of the disclosure, he asked when the program had started and ordered all such programs stopped. The official word here is that the student association funding did in fact stop on Jan. 1.

The problem, however, remains. The battle to influence the student leaders of the world continues, and there are no private institutions available to finance the American leaders.

This was the problem that started the C.I.A. program in the first place, and it still exists, only without Government assistance.

THE BOSTON TRAVELER

Feb. 16, 1967

CPYRGHT

## *Student Voices*

**T**HE fact that the Central Intelligence Agency has been financing the National Student Association should be applauded, not condemned. Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson did the right thing by going along with it and keeping quiet about it.

The financial support the association was receiving was being put to excellent use. It helped to offset the massive Communist effort to control and propagandize the world student movement. It helped American student delegates make a good representation at international conferences, forums and rallies. It gave us a voice with which to argue against Communist cajolery among youth groups.

Unfortunately this secret operation has now been disclosed in a way that makes it appear unsavory, and so it has been halted.

Very well, let some other agency quietly pick up the tab. Communist loudspeakers must be answered with something stronger than an apologetic whisper.

Feb. 16, 1967

CPYRGHT

2-16-67

## CIA Doing Its Job

Home-grown lefties are in a gusty flap because the Central Intelligence Agency has disbursed funds to several youth organizations to represent American position in foreign student gatherings, which are always heavily impregnated with subsidized Communist fronts.

The CIA is just doing its job in trying to counter Red propagandists at international youth gatherings. The future of the world—whether it can still nurture liberty or be chained to Communism—is in the hands of the new generation.

Instead of emotionally flogging this CIA policy, citizens should pat the agency on the back for seeking to offset unceasing Red efforts to make the world over for Marx.

But that's not the way of the ultra liberals, usually willing at the drop of a left-wing to let fly at almost any anti-Red move.

Is the United States to abstain from fostering American purpose, policy and the democratic way in international meetings? Should we miss the boat because earnest, pro-American youth haven't the funds to pay their own way to these conclaves?

Such organizations should be subsidized to the extent of sending representatives to these

conferences and adequately preparing presentations, contra the Communist doxology.

If there could be any legitimate cavilling about the program, perhaps it is because it was found advisable to spend the funds secretly. We don't like government secrecy.

But if it weren't for the leftist cabal, probably the State Department would have taken care of the chore openly. Possibly it should anyhow.

Certainly the job demands doing. Russia and other Red states must not be allowed to clobber us around the world through student organizations. The government would be remiss if it took no counter measures.

The current furor comes largely from those who have long sought to destroy the CIA. This valuable agency, however, is merely a whipping boy. CIA could not take such action on its own responsibility. It moves only after approval at the highest levels of government—the White House, State and Defense Departments.

Instead of developing headline palpitations over helping conscientious youth tell our story to the world, it would be better to mount a background investigation of the Ramparts magazine outfit, which was at the bottom of this overblown story.

# CIA In Student Group— A Routine Move To Balk Red Takeover

By JAMES MARLOW

WASHINGTON — The FBI years ago thoroughly infiltrated the American Communist Party and, through the information and exposure which followed, was the major factor in reducing the party to a shell.

But suppose the FBI had not infiltrated—after all, the party represented itself as a political grouping — and today communism here had a far greater membership and was considered a menace to national security.

The FBI would have been publicly condemned — and by now might have been replaced by some new agency—for it is responsible for obtaining information essential to the nation's domestic interests.

The FBI's job is in this country. It's opposite number, the Central Intelligence Agency, has the same responsibility as the FBI, but it's field is the world outside the United States.

Now it is being criticized for subsidizing the National Student Association, the oldest and largest student organization in the United States, with perhaps as much as \$3 million between 1952 and 1955.

Eugene Groves, NSA president, said the CIA funds had been used to help finance the group's international activities, including sending student representatives to student congresses abroad and funding student exchange programs.

Groves said, "The relationship apparently originated because the CIA believed that a strong American national union of students acting internationally was in the national interest."

This was said to be the CIA's main purpose throughout: To combat Communist - financed youth organizations which, like NSA and similar Western groups —were not publicly sponsored by government and thus ap-

Some of the CIA money went

as undercover payments to past NSA officials in yearly sums of \$500 to \$2,500. But NSA has now severed connections with the CIA.

Officials of the CIA, the most secretive government agency, are saying nothing. But a former CIA director, Allen W. Dulles, who knew all about the arrangement, said "we obtained what we wanted" in return for payments to NSA.

He said NSA representation at international student conferences threw a damper on Communist influences at such meetings.

Nevertheless, CIA is being criticized for infiltrating the campus. President Johnson has instructed some government officials to form a policy that would prevent CIA or any other government agency from endangering the integrity and independence of American educational institutions.

But—the CIA was confronted with the possibility that Communist youth organizations might dominate in the international student field.

So it had to make a choice: Do what it did, try to achieve the same result in some other way, or do nothing although it is busy all over the world in a thousand ways to prevent, reduce or eliminate Communist control or influence.

This raises a question: If you were in charge of the CIA, what would you have done? One thing is sure: If the Communists did get control of the international student groups, and if this was due to the failure of the CIA to do anything, and this fact became known, CIA would be roundly damned here at home.

Sen. Gale McGee (D-Wy) fended the CIA against; termed "short-sightedness." He told the S are trying to survive world in which whom we must

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*Washington: The Intellectual War*

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By JAMES RESTON

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16—When President Johnson was told that the Central Intelligence Agency's secret fund for university students was about to be exposed, he asked when the fund started (1952), and he wanted assurance that the fund had stopped.

His first impulse, was to deal not with the problem but with the politics of the problem. Senator Eugene McCarthy, who has been critical of the C.I.A., was telephoned in Florida; Senator William Fulbright, who has been critical of a lot of other things, was told privately what was coming; and the Administration was especially careful to head off any public criticism by Senator Robert Kennedy, who knew all about the fund when he was Attorney General and therefore reacted prudently.

**The Basic Problem**

The problem, however, remains. It is that the Communist nations, and particularly the Soviet Union, are constantly trying to influence university leaders, labor union leaders, leading writers and other potentially powerful individuals of the coming generation all over the world. Thus not only Mao Tse-tung and the other Chinese Communist leaders, but even Chiang Kai-shek, spent time in Moscow

many years ago as part of Moscow's plan to communize China.

This battle for the allegiance of the coming leaders of the world has never really been faced openly and effectively by the United States Government. Some funds have been voted openly for cultural, exchange, and student programs through the State Department, but Representative John Rooney of New York, who presides over the State Department's appropriations, has never been enthusiastic about approving funds for this extremely important intellectual competition, and successive administrations have chosen to evade the problem rather than be candid about it.

That is to say, instead of facing up to Rooney and his powerful associates in the Congress with a very good argument, they evaded them by going underground to the C.I.A. with a very bad and deceptive device. Instead of educating the Congress on the hard facts of a very complex intellectual and political war, they chose instead to corrupt the leaders of the youth organizations, deceive the students, and mislead the Congress, the universities and the country, not to mention embroiling the Government's department of dirty tricks in home front efforts.

The reaction here to this ex-

posed deception is interesting. The White House has stopped the funds and ducked. The State Department has issued an unctuous statement about protecting the integrity of students, and the liberals in the Congress have attacked the C.I.A.

But the C.I.A. is not to blame. Richard Helms, the Director, and Cord Myer, who presided over these programs for him, are high-minded men who were carrying out policies ordered from above. The surprising thing is not that they were caught, but that the C.I.A. got away with this for so long. It does not have the protection of an official secrets act, as in Britain. It has no British "D" notice to warn publications against printing sensitive information. It has a very large personnel turnover. It was confiding to new officers of the student organizations every year. It has been under sharp newspaper surveillance and university criticism, especially since the start of the bombing in Vietnam, and the leaders of the N.S.A. went to Vice President Humphrey last year and urged him to find ways of getting open instead of secret funds.

Yet nothing was done until the evidence was out, and even now the Administration is neither correcting the problem

nor coming clean. It is trapped in other confidences it has taken with other individuals and institutions in the labor unions, newspapers, press and radio of the world, where again its purposes may be laudable but some of its financial arrangements are vulnerable.

**The Flaw**

What has been needed for a long time, and what is still needed now, is a candid discussion of the problem of subversion, and Congressional approval of a Government-supported, but privately administered institution that will defend the nation's interests in the intellectual communities of the world.

This is what the British have had for generations in The British Council, which provides funds to support a variety of British intellectual, social and political interests. They got along very well over there with their comfortable falsehoods, and they are not above corrupting others, but at least they do not deceive or corrupt themselves.

Maybe something like this will come out of the present controversy here. Meanwhile, our only consolation is that we must not really be such a wicked people, because we run these secret conspiracies so clumsily.

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## The CIA And The Students

Defenders of the Central Intelligence Agency in the currently furious debate over its supplying funds to members of the National Student Association insist that CIA in no way attached strings to its grants.

At this stage of the controversy, no one has come forth with substantial facts indicating that the directors of the intelligence agency in any way attempted to tie purse strings to academic freedom and student thought. Some former NSA officers either having knowledge of the CIA gifts or

being direct beneficiaries of those funds for foreign travel and study, on the contrary, have said that no controls over their views on U. S. policy were either asked or hinted in exchange for CIA funds.

It would be unrealistic, *The News* thinks, to contend that the CIA did not consider its previously disguised contributions to NSA as an investment which would earn returns. Neither do we think that the students who knew the source of the funds failed to realize the implications. If they were able during their overseas visits to provide information derived from international student activities without actual involvement in sleuthing, we'd imagine some of them would do just that.

Whether CIA obtained value received or whether it received no information of consequence from NSA members only CIA knows. Former CIA Director Allen Dulles says that CIA received what it wanted for its funds because the presence of American students at international students' sessions put a damper on Communist groups, taking over the meetings and using them as propaganda forums.

One might argue interminably over the question of whether or not an official American government agency should be in any way involved in student affairs on any basis.

Senator Gale McGee (D-Wyo.), declaring that there is no evidence that the CIA in any way attempted to influence student thought, insists that the U. S., involved in the "jungle" of international intrigue, may reasonably be expected to seek out information in any way it can in its own interests. Other senators, including Democratic Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, take a dimmer view of CIA actions in this particular matter and suggest that the Senate and the administration look more closely into CIA affairs.

CIA's position as a super-secret agency, accountable only to the President and the National Security Council, was broadly debated in the Senate during the 89th Congress. It would be unfortunate now, just as we viewed the matter then, for CIA's linen to be washed on the Senate floor, thereby removing whatever starch it possesses as a security function.

We think it admissible to question the CIA's discretion in its relations with NSA, but we are not about to believe that it did in fact or expected to push young students into the midst of cloak-and-dagger activities. As gatherers of occasionally helpful scraps of information, perhaps. As spies, no.

So little is actually known of CIA operations outside its own confines and by those few privy to its activities that a clear assessment of its contributions to the nation's interest would be extremely hard to come by.

An effort to discredit the CIA is very much alive, and pressures will continue within Congress and in other areas.

If the CIA is to continue as an effective instrument, however, parting the curtain on its innermost activities is the surest way to completely destroy its reason for being. And the debate over the NSA affair, in our opinion, is not sufficient grounds for demanding a curtain call.

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CPYRGHT

## Foreign Affairs: The Seeing Eye

CPYRGHT

By C. L. SULZBERGER

PARIS—What our Government calls "the intelligence community" is regarded as sort of a dirty word and any organization even tangentially touching it is held thereby to be tarnished.

The origin of this attitude can be traced to our ancestors who fled the distant outer world, venerated George Washington's insistence on avoiding connections abroad, and, through the isolationist movement, represented a 20th-century policy of intervention. Many Americans still think foreigners and the devil can be escaped by hiding

### Not Necessarily Nests

The C.I.A. and its immediate predecessors were incubated during the cold war when Stalinism sought to subvert Europe and the United States had no organization with which to combat such efforts. The financing of certain student, labor union, propaganda and cultural groups started in that atmosphere. The fact that such groups received funds otherwise not available to attend international meetings or to fight penetration didn't necessarily mean they were agents' nests.

Some remaining ties from that cold war period might well shed such C.I.A. connections. Undoubtedly the thrust toward

investigating C.I.A. links with nonofficial groups will expose relationships that may shock innocents still greatly influenced by our provincial and puritanical heritage.

While O.S.S. veterans were studying British intelligence with a view to creating the C.I.A., a special service called the Office of Political Control, or O.P.C., was already functioning and using nonofficial help to combat cold-war pressures.

Foreign friends of the American labor movement helped fight Communism in trade unions and also garnered information for Washington. One particularly useful source was the International Transport Federation which collected material from European train crews, dock workers and seamen. This may surprise many Americans but should not shock them. It is naive to support a Central Intelligence Agency while asking it not to do its job.

United States diplomacy and intelligence have sometimes intervened in political affairs abroad. They helped support the third force which initiated the French Fourth Republic. They worked strongly for Italy's Christian Democrats in the critical 1948 election. They worked against Mossadegh in Iran and Arbenz in Guatemala but such acts were scarcely contrary to U.S. interests.

Nothing is gained by comparing intelligence functions in our

own open society with those of Russia's closed society. A better standard is the role of intelligence in France and England. During the Fourth Republic France's ardently democratic if mature equivalent of J. Edgar Hoover casually told me that my telephones were tapped, neither an abnormal nor particularly menacing phenomenon here where foreign journalists can sometimes hear the audible *table d'écoute*.

When allied delegations went to Moscow for the 1947 foreign ministers' meeting, British "diplomats" included technicians armed with equipment to detect hidden listening devices in their embassy and French "diplomats" included youthful White Russians who could mingle with university students while keeping their ears open.

### British Intelligence

Some years ago the British minister who handled liaison between the Cabinet and intelligence confided: "We only hire newspapermen in the Middle East." When I was running The New York Times Foreign Service, two British brigadiers from intelligence separately asked me for journalistic jobs. One subsequently joined a London paper. Kim Philby skipped off to Russia from a journalistic post in Beirut.

Intelligence sometimes mixes unpleasantly in facets of society that imagine themselves pure. The C.I.A. has set up trading

companies, air lines and special funds to handle particular jobs. But provincial prigs should bear in mind Britain's experience which shows that distinguished university figures, for example, can do special intelligence jobs for their Government on particular occasions without endangering British democracy.

### Role for Newsmen

It is certainly desirable that trusted sources of political authority or public information should stay clear of contact with intelligence. Soon after our involvement in World War II, the first precursor of O.S.S. asked The New York Times if its foreign correspondents could "help." The request was politely refused.

Although it would be well advised to review connections with nongovernmental bodies and terminate those which are no longer useful, no emotional witch hunt should harass the C.I.A. The American people must remember that in our society an intelligence agency needs help from the private sector which dominates industry, research and technology. It is lunacy to deprive it of such resources.

We may not like it but we are intimately involved in a shrinking outer world that is no longer weeks but minutes away. Part of the adjustment to that unpleasant fact is the need, by intelligence, to know what goes on around us.



## Former Student Leaders Deny They Were Trapped by C.I.A.

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

CPYRGHT

Past presidents of the National Student Association said yesterday it was "preposterous" and "ridiculous" to describe association officials as having been "trapped" into working for the Central Intelligence Agency.

The charge of entrapment was made Friday in Washington by Sam Brown, a Harvard divinity student who is chairman of the student association's national supervisory board. Mr. Brown said the student officials had been placed under "fantastic pressures" not to disclose the association's link with the C.I.A.

Ex-officers interviewed by phone in various parts of the country largely agreed, however, that while they occasionally had conflicts with C.I.A. agents they willingly took about \$200,000 a year from the agency and felt it was in the best interests of the country and the association to do so.

"It is preposterous to say we were coerced into taking the money," the former president added. "Most people thought it was a good idea, because it gave us the ability to carry out the goals of the organization."

### Campus Alienation Cited

A number of former officers said they agreed with the statement last week of W. Dennis Shaul, president of the association in 1962-63.

Mr. Shaul said that the repugnance present officers felt toward the C.I.A. link was the result of diminished cold war tensions, recent revelations of the C.I.A.'s clandestine activities, and increasing alienation among college students toward American Government and institutions.

Mr. Shaul said that students of an earlier generation were more concerned with promoting "the best aspects of America" abroad.

A president in the late nineteen-fifties, who worked for the Government for several years before returning to law school, described his attitude this way:

"Several months after my election I was told by the outgoing president that I was being asked by the president of the United States and the Na-

tional Security Council to cooperate with the C.I.A. I was told that the decision to assist N.S.A. financially had been approved at the highest levels of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations. I felt at the time, and I still do, that I would have been a disloyal American to refuse to cooperate."

The former president said his fear of being disloyal did not amount to "coercion."

"My free will was never impinged upon," he said.

"My contacts with the C.I.A. were very sporadic and their requests were usually reasonable," the former president said. "Actually, the C.I.A. was not even very important in terms of our total relationship with the Federal Government."

The law student said the association received money openly from the State Department, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and other Government agencies.

He said he had had two major dealings with the C.I.A. In one case, an agent asked permission to interview association observers who had attended the World Youth Festival in Vienna in 1959. "I agreed as long as the students agreed," he said.

In the other, he said, the intelligence agency advised that a group of Soviet youth coming to the United States on an exchange program be scrutinized carefully.

"They wanted to make sure they were students, not spies," he said.

After completing his term, the former president served as an association representative in Paris. He declared that he had never written reports for the C.I.A. on student activities abroad.

Once in Helsinki, Finland, he recalled, a United States Information Agency officer in the American embassy had asked him questions about student leaders at the youth meeting he was attending.

Another recent president, who maintained he had remained free of C.I.A. influence, said that the relationship with the intelligence agency had nevertheless caused him mental anguish. "It was the worst year of my life," he said.

EDITORIAL

# What Are We Trying to Do to the CIA?

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

It is just possible, if we all manage to work ourselves into a wild enough lather, that the current flap over the CIA can be escalated to the point where it will destroy the nation's intelligence organization. It almost seems that this is what some of the breast-beaters would like to do.

One day we have a disclosure that a student organization has been receiving covert funds so that young Americans can compete with young Communists at world student meetings. Then, suddenly, nothing will do but that every traceable operation of the CIA must be laid bare to public view, commented upon in tones of pious horror, investigated, sermonized, deplored and punished, until the terrible guilt of it all has been established for all time, for all the world to see.

And what, precisely, are we guilty of? Why, of using our wits and available means to compete in a battle just as real, dirty and deadly serious as any shooting war in which we could engage.

Confronted by adversaries who threw the full power and wealth of the state into the effort to mold and control world opinion, we did not abandon the field to them. Instead, we devoted some public funds to seeing to it that Americans could confront the totalitarians in the intellectual lists abroad, speaking their minds in representing the views of a relatively free society.

It worked, incidentally. A wide variety of Americans, most of whom never knew the source of the funds backing them, proved more than able over the years to hold their own in confrontation with disciplined, professional Communist agents. They prevented the takeover of numerous international organizations and established others which have contributed substantially to the global cause of freedom.

Consider, for example, the experience of Gloria Steinem, as interestingly reported in yesterday's Washington Post.

New York writer, Miss Steinem was director of something called "The Independent Research Service," which took CIA money to send several hundred young Americans to World Youth festivals in Vienna and Helsinki in 1959 and 1962.

Miss Steinem had no contact with CIA agents on the program, but

that few of the students who took those trips knew that the CIA was picking up the tab.

"I never felt I was being dictated to at all," she said. "I found them (the CIA men with whom she worked) liberal and farsighted and open to an exchange of ideas. . . . They wanted to do what we wanted to do—present a healthy, diverse view of the United States."

She was backed up by Dennis Shaul, another spokesman for the organization, who said: "We had Minnesota school-teachers who were further right than Bill Buckley as well as members of Students for a Democratic Society. Nobody told them what to do."

Bear in mind, except for such American participation financed by CIA funds, these festivals were completely dominated by Communists, all financed and controlled by their governments. Yet, says Shaul, "The Helsinki festival was a disaster from their point of view, and I think we can take a good deal of credit for that."

Well now, why not? Is this really something that has to be apologized for? Who is corrupted by such an operation? Who would have paid the Americans' expenses if the CIA hadn't?

"The CIA," says Miss Steinem, "was the only (organization) with enough guts and foresight to see that youth and student affairs were important." And here, the lady puts her finger on an important point.

Of course, it would have been better if this sort of thing could have been done without subterfuge. It is too bad that private funds were not available for these purposes. It would have been healthier, lacking such private sources, for our government to have appropriated openly the necessary monies, through the State Department, U.S. Information Agency or some other "respectable" organization. Even though no such alternative may have been available when these programs were initiated in the early 1950s, it would have been advisable to switch them away from CIA support as soon as that became possible.

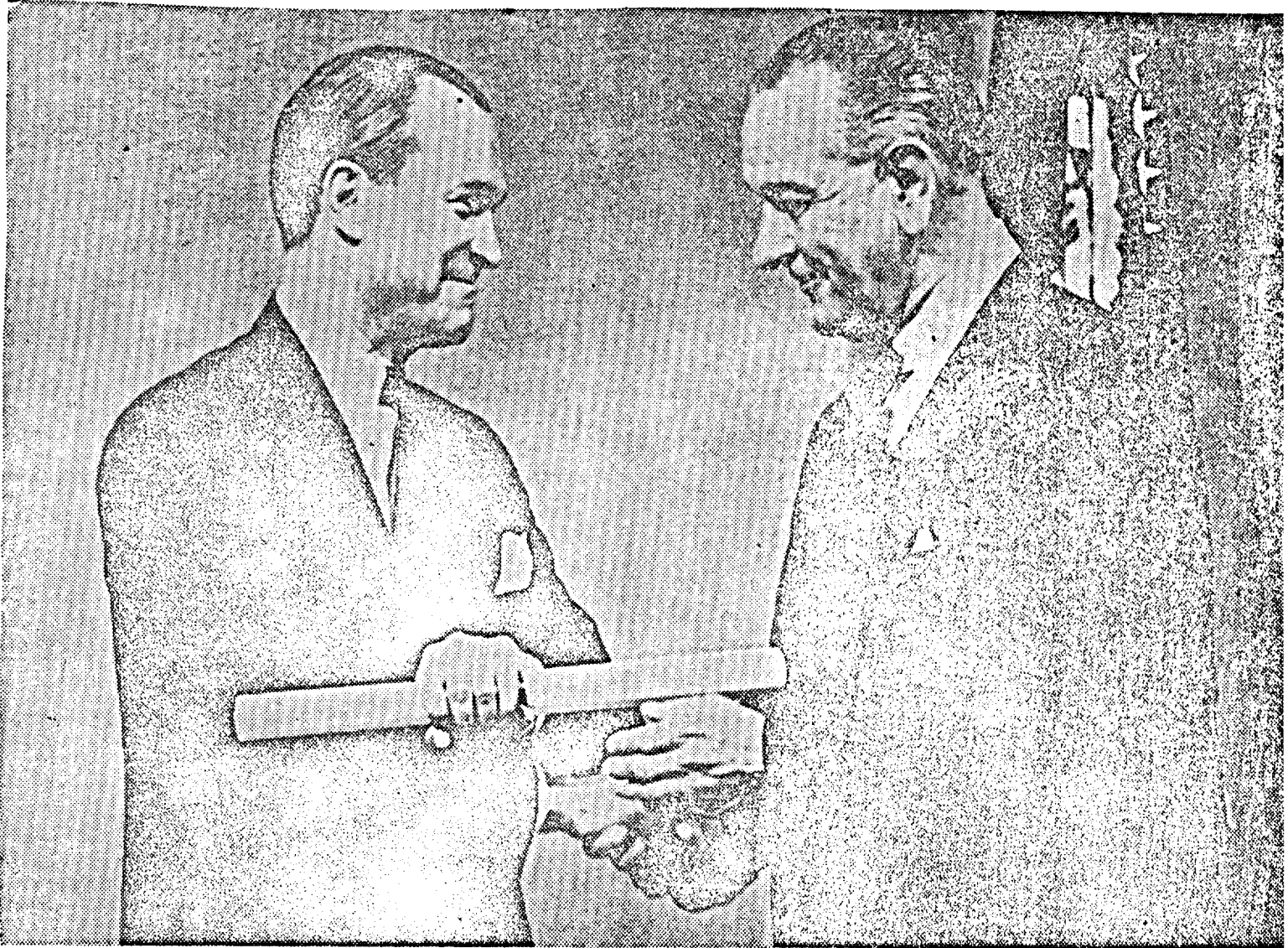
No one, moreover, can possibly defend all the details of any one of these

messy procedures which, when exposed, prove embarrassing. There is, one inevitably recalls, a saying about making omelettes and breaking eggs.

What is beyond comprehension in all this, however, is the monumental naivete involved in the apparent shock reaction to these disclosures on the part of otherwise knowledgeable people. After all, what have the outraged gentlemen supposed was going on all this time on the sprawling acres out at Langley? Of all the endeavors of the CIA, the effort to create outlets abroad for the expression of American opinion must surely rank as one of the milder. This is not, be it noted, a tea party that we have been engaged in. This is a viciously contested undercover war against shrewd, dedicated enemies who happen to be quite unhampered by nice-Nellie scruples. The need to press this fight has all along been recognized by the top leadership of the country. The procedures that suddenly evoke such outraged reactions were not dreamed up privately by the CIA. They were directed from the top, and properly so.

The idea that an organization like the CIA can conduct its operations while restrained by a sort of daisy-chain of clergymen, den mothers and liberal politicians—such a notion is simply absurd. For our part, we hope that the present hysteria will be calmed with a rational inquiry conducted by responsible and realistic men who have some knowledge of the very serious problems involved. We are inclined to suspect that they, and the public, will end up concluding that the world has not, after all, ended—and that, in doing a job which had to be done, our intelligence organization has not done too badly.

CPYRGHT



CIA Director Richard Helms is congratulated by President after being sworn in.

FEB 19 1967

Feb. 20, 1967

# NEWS

## Comments

*Seditionists*

*And the CIA:*

*For Shame!*

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The misfortune in the flagrant and headlined revelations of the activities and relationships of the Central Intelligence Agency with student organizations, labor and foundations of various sorts is a misfortune that is being suffered by the American nation.

The unhappy fact about the revelations is not that the CIA did any wrong. It is that this country does not have, like the British have, an anti-sedition law to protect the United States government from its enemies within.

The CIA pursued a normal course in seeking to assist American organizations that had relationships with students, labor, scholars, artists, religious leaders and other societies and persons in foreign countries. It would be unthinkable that the CIA did not do the very things it has been accused of — accused of in most instances by persons who demonstrate their hatred by their speech and by their writing. The hatred of what? Of qualities of leadership the United States has demonstrated throughout the world. They are the antibodies in the American society.

\* \* \*

The alleged exposure of the CIA, in which fools and knaves have played no small part, has done grave injury to this country and is destroying a network of relationships overseas that took many years to build.

And yet what the CIA has done is something that every foreign government that has pretensions to power in this world, has been doing for more generations than we have, and is doing today.

Due to the license with which seditionists may work in the United States, they get the headlines that they are after, they smear the organization that has been thwarting their friends abroad, they make money out of it, and they become names.

\* \* \*

This could not happen in France where such a revelation of government secrets, even if not well kept secrets, would result in confiscation of papers on the news-stands, the shutting down of presses, and the arrest of the responsible individuals.

In Britain, where there is just as much individual freedom as there is in America but a great deal less license to trifle with the security of the nation, there are standing laws against sedition that may be evoked at the drop of a hat to put behind the bars any persons whose actions may be described as inimical to the national security.

These are the other two of the great free democratic countries; but they have experience and intelligence enough to defend themselves from the enemies within. We have not. A vast damage has been done our country, not by the CIA, which is an organization of brilliant and devoted Americans; but by the enemies of the CIA, of our armed forces, of our business community, of our foreign policies, and of American stature in the world. For shame!

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## False Hysteria

The outcry following disclosure that the Central Intelligence Agency had helped finance the National Student Association has been almost hysterically out of all proportion to the actual situation.

All kinds of sinister motives have been read into the CIA's connection with the student organization, with the implication that young people have been corrupted by Government subsidy and used as spies or in some other outlandish capacity.

Not surprisingly, critics of President Johnson, whether those opposed to him politically or those who take the left-wing line in any matter having to do with foreign policy, have seized upon the CIA-Student Association affair to make the President the target of new attack.

At the same time, America's Intelligence Service has been made to appear as though it were engaged in some nefarious conspiracy, with students as their tools.

On the part of those who support international Communism and who oppose U. S. foreign policy at all times, such tactics are understandable. But there is no sensible reason for others to join in this uproar. We happen to live in a jungle world, not in some Utopia where a country's intelligence service can operate in full view of the public at Broad and Chestnut streets.

A calm appraisal of the oversensationalized disclosure of the

National Student Association subsidies will make the hullabaloo of the past week seem ridiculous.

After questioning CIA Director Richard Helms, a subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee issued a statement saying that the CIA aid was given, at the students' request, to counter Communist attempts to take over foreign student organizations, by making it possible for American students holding independent views to participate in international meetings.

"It is no secret," the statement continued, "that since the end of the Second World War, the Communists concentrated on student organizations throughout the free world and by 1950 were successful to the point that they had little opposition. Patriotic and worried students in the U. S. were quick to recognize the situation. Leaders of their organization sought appropriate help. It was forthcoming, and has now served its purpose. Espionage was not involved: the survival of freedom was."

The intent of the CIA aid was patriotic; to help resist the inroads made by international Communism. What is the intent of those who are trying to defame and to belittle the CIA, and to embarrass the Government of the U. S. with their outcries over the student subsidy incident? Certainly they are giving aid and comfort only to our enemies.

# Struggle For Student Minds

NEWPORT DAILY NEWS  
21 February 1967

In the years immediately after World War II, the Soviet Union took the lead in organizing and propagandizing the world student movement. The World Student Congress has been Communist-dominated since its founding in 1946 in Prague. In that first meeting, the Communist delegations gained control of key positions and imposed the Moscow delegation's agenda. The first Soviet vice president of the meeting was Aleksandr N. Shelepin, who later became chairman of the Soviet State Security committee.

The National Student Association, largest student body in this country, broke away from the world union of students in 1948 after the Communist conquest of Czechoslovakia. Opposed by the Communist leaders of the union as maliciously conservative, they were regarded here as too far to the left. They had nowhere to go to raise funds for attending world affairs. But actual left-wing American students managed to attend world-

union meetings, all but two of them in the last 20 years behind the Iron Curtain.

In 1952, the Central Intelligence Agency decided that the students in the national association could do useful work for their government by representing the American viewpoint in these foreign meetings, albeit that viewpoint was more lib-

eral than not. CIA began to donate an average of \$200,000 to the association, but with only the two top association officers each year aware of this. It was feared that some students might misunderstand this aid and also that the association's views would be misjudged abroad.

Now one of the most deadly of the anti-U. S. propaganda magazines has made a great expose of this horrendous affair. Members of Congress are aghast that the CIA had subsidized the student activities for so long, and embarrassed us in world opinion. What a lot of tommyrot!

President Johnson has ordered the grants stopped as of Jan. 1 last. Now, why is it right for Communists to finance their student organizations to influence young minds, but wrong for the United States? The American students were given no government line to peddle, like their adversaries who openly and vociferously fought for the communist line. The Americans reacted as intelligent democratic young men and women in these world forums. They had no other way of going unless they accepted communist funds, as others did.

We shouldn't let such prudery throw us. Let's be glad there was a CIA to fight our battle in the world youth forums of tomorrow's leaders.

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Feb. 22, 1967

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## No CIA Probe

As expected the Senate liberals—led by Senators Fulbright, Morse, Javits, etc.—are calling for a Congressional probe of the Central Intelligence Agency in the wake of reports that it paid the National Student Association and other groups for information gathered overseas.

The Senators can't say exactly what the CIA did wrong. They are hinting that paying NSA students money for information gathered, while attending functions in Communist countries, somehow has endangered the integrity and independence of our educational institutions.

This is pure, unadulterated nonsense.

There hasn't been a fragment of evidence to indicate that any student had to compromise his own freedom or jeopardized the integrity or independence of any college or university by virtue of receiving CIA money.

On the contrary, it would seem more probable that information gained could well help

this country combat the attempts being made by Communists to infiltrate and gain strength on American university campuses.

To suggest that the CIA be subjected to a public Congressional probe is to propose its demise. How can an intelligence gathering organization operate in a public spotlight? It can't and the liberal critics know this. Their aim is the same today as in the past—to knock out the CIA.

The CIA continues to keep the President, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State and the Senate CIA watchdog committee informed of its operations. There is no need to change this method of operation. It is working well.

The revelations that the CIA has paid various individuals and groups money for information is not especially significant, except it shows that the CIA is still very much on the job—for which all Americans should be thankful.



# TIME

THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

February 24, 1967 Vol. 89, No. 8

CPYRGHT

## THE NATION

CPYRGHT

### THE ADMINISTRATION

#### The Silent Service

(See Cover)

*What enables the wise sovereign and the good general to strike and conquer, and achieve things beyond the reach of ordinary men, is foreknowledge.*

—Sun Tzu, 6th Century B.C.

Chinese military theorist

Inside a U.S. ferret satellite flashing around the earth at 17,000 m.p.h., supersensitive instruments intercept and flick back to Virginia a radio message between Moscow and a Soviet submarine in the Pacific. In Laos, an American listens attentively to the words of a cocktail waiter, then slips him a bar of silver. In an office of the U.S. embassy in Bonn, a rotund Sovietologist digests a stack of reports that may originate from any one of a thousand sources—a barber in East Berlin, a warehouse madam in Vienna, a U.S. electronics salesman in Darmstadt, an Eastern European propaganda broadside. At an airfield on Taiwan, a black U-2 reconnaissance plane with a Nationalist Chinese pilot at the controls soars off the runway, bound for skies 15 miles above Red China on a photographic mission.

Such is the spider-web scope and space-age sophistication of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, the nation's deep-secret seeker of foreknowledge in the dim, cold demi-world of international intelligence. CIA is America's chief combatant in what Secretary of State Dean Rusk calls "a tough struggle going on in the back alleys all over the world, a never-ending war, and there's no quarter asked and none given."

**Cacophony of Protest.** So cloaked and gagged is CIA's operation that a majority of Americans cannot recite even its most dramatic feats: its pinpoint reporting about day-by-day developments leading to the explosion of Red China's first nuclear device, its brilliant success in wiretapping Soviet army headquarters in East Berlin,\* its nick-of-time revelation in 1962 that Russian missile bases were abuilding in Cuba. Even more mysterious to most Americans than CIA itself is its director, Richard McGarrah Helms, 53, an intense, con-

\* Accomplished by digging and wiring a tunnel from West to East Berlin, which caved in only because East German street laborers inadvertently hit a weak spot while working on a routine job in 1959.

rolled, self-effacing professional who holds one of the most delicate and crucial posts in official Washington—and whose name has yet to appear in *Who's Who in America*. Dick Helms has been, in Washington parlance, a "spook" for nearly 25 years. He is a veteran of some of the agency's most labyrinthine operations—from masterminding double

the emotionalism of young Americans who worship honesty. It aroused the outrage of many in the academic community who—mistakenly—regard CIA as an evil manipulator of foreign policy. And the furor showed again how readily Americans, who, while seldom acknowledging the quiet and generally successful performance of their intelligence com-



STUDENTS ARRIVING FOR WORLD YOUTH FESTIVAL IN MOSCOW (1957)

Once again, a spotlight on the tightrope of paradoxes.

agents working at the very heart of Kremlin intelligence to supervising covert U.S. operations that kept the Congo out of Communist control.

Yet no amount of expertise in back-alley battling or electronic espionage could have prepared Helms or CIA for the cacophony of protest that arose last week over yet another facet of U.S. intelligence—the agency's undercover funding of American and international students' associations.

The controversy once again spotlighted the shadowy tightrope of paradoxes that the Helmsmen must walk in the interests of a nation that cherishes openness and fair play. The debate pitted the Puritan ethic against the pragmatism of cold-war survival. It matched the conspiratorial methods necessarily practiced by intelligence agencies against

munity, will howl their indignation at the first hint of misjudgment.

"Sinister Specter." The story—and the storm—broke early in the week when *Ramparts*, the sensation-seeking New Left-leaning monthly, took full-page newspaper ads to trumpet an article scheduled for its March issue that would "document" how CIA "infiltrated and subverted the world of American student leaders." The story, according to *Ramparts*, was a "case study in the corruption of youthly idealism," and would prove that "CIA owes the youth of this country an apology." CIA's involvement with the academic community has been a target of *Ramparts* before: an article last April lambasted Michigan State University for providing cover for five CIA agents during a federally funded project to train South



Vietnam, police in London. A 10,000-word article on the U.S. National Student Association was larded with pejorative clichés about "the sinister specter" of CIA mixing with a student group.

Factually at least, the piece was essentially accurate. N.S.A., the nation's largest student organization, represents the campus governments of some 300 colleges. It arranges hundreds of foreign trips and wide-ranging student exchange programs, and holds an annual National Student Congress to debate a few domestic issues and countless international questions ranging from "Whither Africa?" to "How Now, Chairman Mao?" The association was founded in 1947 by 24 American campus leaders, including White House Aide Douglass

Young. Its representatives conducted to attend a series of international student rallies. Invariably, they found themselves outmaneuvered, outshouted and outfinanced by Communist student organizations that went out of their way to impress delegates from the underdeveloped, uncommitted nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

PPPM. The U.S., as leader of the free world, could not comfortably sit by while Moscow made its grandstand play for the imaginations and loyalties of the world's youth. National student organizations were proliferating everywhere, and in 1950, N.S.A. and 20 other groups formed the International Student Conference as the West's counterweight to the aggressive International Union of Students, a Communist-subsidized youth

organization based in New York. Over the past 15 years, funds were donated to one organization or another in the name of the Independence Foundation, the J. Frederick Brown Foundation, and the Sidney and Esther Rabb Charitable Foundation, all of Boston, the San Jacinto Fund of Houston, the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs of New York. In several cases, the forms that tax-exempt foundations are required to submit as public records with the Internal Revenue Service were strangely missing from the files of district offices.

The San Jacinto Fund has neither a listed phone nor an office address, operates out of the office of an accountant. Others, too, proved to be desk-drawer operations—without staff, office space or listed telephone numbers. Dummy fronts or not, these foundations over the past 15 years had contributed as much as 80% of N.S.A.'s budget.

**Ignored Success.** From the first, the operation was supposed to be accomplished with characteristic CIA attention to secrecy. Only N.S.A. presidents (who serve one-year terms) and a couple of other top officers were told about the arrangement. They were required to sign a national-security pledge that they would never reveal that information—at the risk of a maximum 20-year prison sentence for violating its terms. Over the years, N.S.A. actually did have dribbles of cash coming from the Ford and Rockefeller foundations, as well as from the State Department, but CIA was by far the most generous banker.

The CIA money was earmarked for the international program only, but the agency made no attempt to influence the students' policies. In the years since the CIA fund began, N.S.A. has taken many vigorous anti-Administration stands: it castigated the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic and has consistently condemned Viet Nam policy. Some critics argue that the State Department should have supplied the heavy financing, but N.S.A. as a result might have been much more restricted in its independence of expression. The CIA-N.S.A. arrangement seemed to be mutually profitable.

The students finally had the money to carry out their growing foreign exchange programs. CIA was able to guarantee first-class student representation at international affairs. The fulminations against CIA last week were based largely on the assumption that students had been "manipulated" for espionage purposes, but most critics chose to ignore the success of N.S.A. delegates in representing the U.S. abroad with vigor, eloquence and sophistication.

**The Firm.** Even in 1965, there were growing rumors among many students that most of N.S.A.'s money was coming from the Federal Government. CIA had not yet been publicly fingered as the association's moneybags, but the State Department was a subject of dark suspicion. President-to-be



CARTOONIST'S VIEW OF HOW THINGS DO CHANGE  
Nothing in the desk drawer but cash.

Cater, then a recent Harvard graduate, after a trip to the 1946 World Student Congress in Prague, where lavishly financed Communist groups stole the show; one of their organizers was Kom-somol Leader Aleksandr Shelepin, who was later to head the Soviet internal security agency.

From its inception, N.S.A. had financial problems; membership dues were minimal (they still add no more than \$18,000 to an annual budget of some \$800,000). Private foundations were not enthusiastic about contributing, partly because in those Red-scare days N.S.A. was thought to be too left-wing; the House Un-American Activities Committee even planted two agents among student association delegates to the 1962 Helsinki World Youth Festival. Never a

front. The logical instrument of U.S. policy was CIA. The agency institutionalized its direct financial support of N.S.A. under its PPPM (Psychological, Political and Paramilitary) program, in 1952. William Dentzer, now a U.S. AID director in Peru, was the N.S.A. president that year, and he made the deal whereby CIA would secretly funnel cash into the N.S.A. treasury through congeries of private pipelines.

The use of front foundations to handle CIA money is an old technique. More than a score of obscure philanthropies have turned out to be contributors of millions to free-world student groups, notably the World Assembly of Youth in Brussels, the International Student Conference, which is headquartered in The Netherlands, the Independent

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Philip A. Grieco, a graduate of the University of Oregon, was invited to a room at Arlington's Marriott Motor Hotel. Two CIA men met him for what had become an annual routine for top N.S.A. officials: they told him that he would have access to important facts about the organization if he would sign the security pledge. He agreed. First, he learned that he had been judged "witty" (CIA jargon for the one who passes security clearance) and second, that nearly all of N.S.A.'s funds came from "the firm" (code slang for CIA).

That struck the idealistic young Sherburne as all wrong and "destructive of a democratic organization." He decided to try to dig up money for N.S.A. elsewhere. He hired eight young staffers, told them he had just enough money to pay their salaries for two months, and sent them out to solicit funds so they could keep their jobs. Eventually, they managed to raise \$400,000, including some \$180,000 from the Office of Economic Opportunity, to coordinate a program for tutoring deprived children.

As Sherburne's term of office came to an end in mid-1966, he felt he had accomplished everything necessary to clean up the CIA situation once and for all. He had even negotiated a cagey deal whereby the CIA-linked Independence Foundation agreed to turn over its lease on a converted stone house to N.S.A. for 15 years—without mentioning to the agency that he was about to sever their connection.

**Big Brotherism.** Sherburne made one little slip. He broke his secrecy pledge to confess the CIA connection to one of his staff men—red-bearded, New Leftist Michael Wood, 24, from California's Pomona College. Wood insisted that Sherburne make a dramatic public renunciation of the CIA ties. Sherburne refused, arguing reasonably enough that the relationship was about to end and that nothing would be gained by stirring up a storm. Wood compiled a 50-page letter to *Ramparts*, which then embarked on a two-month investigation of the CIA-N.S.A. liaison.

Sherburne and the current N.S.A. president, Rhodes Scholar Eugene Groves, 23, tried to dissuade *Ramparts* from printing the article. The CIA was not very happy either, and put heavy pressure on N.S.A. men to deny whatever the magazine published. Gene Groves refused, called a press conference and admitted all—adding that N.S.A.'s connection with CIA had been terminated. The State Department also issued a stiff little corroboration that N.S.A. had been subsidized since the early 1950s.

Almost instantly, there arose a chorus of indignation against "Big Brotherism." "It is a poisonous business," said Harvard College Dean John Monro. "Something very important in our national life, the real independence and freedom of our institutions, has been brought into question." Cried Minnesota's Democratic Senator Eugene McCarthy, a longtime CIA critic, "where



FORMER N.S.A. PRESIDENT SHERBURNE  
A witty deal.

do you draw the line? Is it all right for the CIA to tell us that 'everything goes'? This is what Hitler said. Where do we put a stop to all this?"

**Up to Pittsburgh?** President Johnson resorted to the hoary political expedient of naming a committee. CIA Director Helms, Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach, and Health, Education and Welfare Secretary John Gardner were appointed to review the operations of the CIA and other Government agencies to see if they "endanger the integrity and independence of the educational community." The President's action was not calculated to defend the agency. Gripped one of the agency's old-timers: "The CIA has become a dirty household word; it's become fashionable to knock it. Maybe we ought to just give headquarters to the Defense Department for an annex and go up to Pittsburgh, rent an apartment and start all over again."



N.S.A. PRESIDENT GROVES

of N.S.A., although legally well within its mandate, was not the agency's unilateral decision. New York Senator Robert Kennedy, who was fully aware of all intelligence operations while he was Attorney General, said last week that the CIA money funnel was an act "of the Government itself acting through a representative of the President." True enough. Three Presidents—Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson—knew all along about the CIA-N.S.A. contract.

**No Abracadabra.** A good deal of the protest over spies and scholars seemed less than realistic—and somewhat surprising, considering that the majority of the younger critics have practically been raised on the glamour fiction of James Bond, Alec Leamas and *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* At any rate, the CIA-N.S.A. alliance never was based on any kind of abracadabra espionage.

Says Dennis Shaul, 28, an Akron attorney who was N.S.A. president in 1962-63: "If I were president now, I would continue to accept CIA funds. CIA had nothing to do with how the money was spent; there were no strings on us." Writer Gloria Steinem, an official of the Independent Research Service in the late '50s when it was CIA-funded, actually considered the agency's support beneficial: "The CIA's most important impact was that it made us unafraid to go ahead and do what we thought was right. It increased, not diminished, our freedom of action."

Allen Dulles, who was CIA director from 1953 to 1961 and drew up a blueprint for operating the agency after it was created in 1947, said last week that the N.S.A. money was well spent as counter-Communist propaganda at youth conferences. "The Soviets had to retreat in this area," he said. "The conferences weren't paying off any more." Innocuous as its N.S.A. contributions may have been, CIA might well have foreseen the possibility of trouble ahead; it could have canceled its subsidy program in the early '60s when East-West student confrontations had subsided.

In the wake of the N.S.A. flap, it was also disclosed last week that CIA has been pumping money into international labor organizations, which have set themselves the laudable task of bringing fair labor standards and union democracy to underdeveloped nations. Among the labor groups identified as agency dependents was the international division of the American Newspaper Guild. Oddly enough, press pundits could not seem to raise the same kind of uproar over CIA involvement in their own union as they did over its supposed subversion of youth.

At any rate, the academic community's hand-wringing over the suspicious color of CIA money spent for national security did not seem wholly justified. There is hardly a university in the nation that does not accept—indeed depend on—hefty grants from the Defense Department. The CIA itself uses doz-

ists as consultants. In 1951, CIA—directly and without masquerade—\$300,000 to finance M.I.T.'s topflight Center for International Studies. Until last spring, M.I.T. continued to accept agency funds, then terminated the contract "for practical, not moral reasons."

**Why?** Indeed, Max Millikan, the sage director of M.I.T.'s International Center, frowned on the surge of CIA-phobia. "The number of my friends around here who have swallowed this 'invisible government' line is disturbing," he said. "They think there is an entirely separate foreign policy being concocted by people in dark corners. When they say that this kind of work is immoral, what they're saying is that it's immoral to have anything to do with telling the President what the world is really like."

Nevertheless, almost every time CIA calls attention to itself, there is a spate of demands that it be reviewed, reformed or removed. As a CIA man pointed out wryly last week, such criticism can only lead to great jubilation in the halls of Moscow's KGB, Department D—for Disinformation—the arm of Soviet counterespionage whose main function is to discredit CIA. Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen, when asked about increasing demands for heavier congressional surveillance over CIA, replied: "I don't believe in exploding our intelligence agency. The British don't do it."

One reason is that any full-time civilian department devoted to the dark arts of espionage is remarkably new to the U.S. Until Pearl Harbor, American espionage was essentially the property of the military services. The Japanese sneak attack was one of history's most flagrant failures of applied foreknowledge, Sun Tzu-style. To fill the vacuum, the Office of Strategic Services was hastily constituted during World War II, and it was from this agency that CIA evolved into a permanent peacetime department under the 1947 National Security Act.

only one of nine agencies\* in the U.S. intelligence community, but it is *primus inter pares* and the right arm of the National Security Council. Master Spy Allen Dulles not only sketched its functions but also the kind of men the nation needed to attract to such duty. "The agency," he suggested to Congress, "should be directed by a relatively small but elite corps of men with a passion for anonymity and a willingness to stick at that particular job."

No one better personifies that description than Richard Helms, the man who now heads CIA. Although he has been with the agency since its start, no CIA chief ever came into office with such a passion for anonymity and downright disdain for public acclaim. His predecessors assumed the directorship after long public exposure in Government (Allen Dulles), industry (John McCone), or the military (General Walter Bedell Smith and Admiral William Raborn), with tangible accomplishments and medals to show for it. Richard Helms? He had a 1965 award from the National Civil Service League, the sort given annually to groups of career bureaucrats, for "significant contributions to excellence in Government." But who could say just what these contributions were?

His relative anonymity is ironic in view of his prewar background, which promised prominence as well as accomplishment. Helms's father was an aluminum sales executive who upon retirement took his family to live in Europe. The move stretched Richard's prep schooling from Orange, N.J., to Switzerland and Germany and gave him lifelong fluency in French and German. He returned to the U.S. to attend Williams College, class of 1935. Few

\* National Security Agency, Defense Intelligence Agency, Atomic Energy Commission, State Department Intelligence and Research, Air Force Intelligence, Army Intelligence, Naval Intelligence and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

ii Beta Kappa key, the presidency of his class and of the senior honor society, the editorship of the student newspaper and the senior yearbook. He was also voted most likely to succeed. Journalism would be his career, his goal a newspaper of his own.

**Henie to Hitler.** For a fast start, he became a United Press European correspondent—after agreeing to pay his own way to London in 1935. Two months later he went on to Germany, covering the 1936 Olympics and the Nazi Party rally with correspondents twice his age and many times his experience. His interview subjects ranged from Sonja Henie to Adolf Hitler. He returned to the U.S. after two years, settled for a job as office boy in the advertising department of the now defunct Indianapolis Times. By 1939, he was the paper's national advertising director. That year he married Divorcee Julia Bretzman Shields, a sculptor. They have one son, Dennis, 24, a student at the University of Virginia Law School.

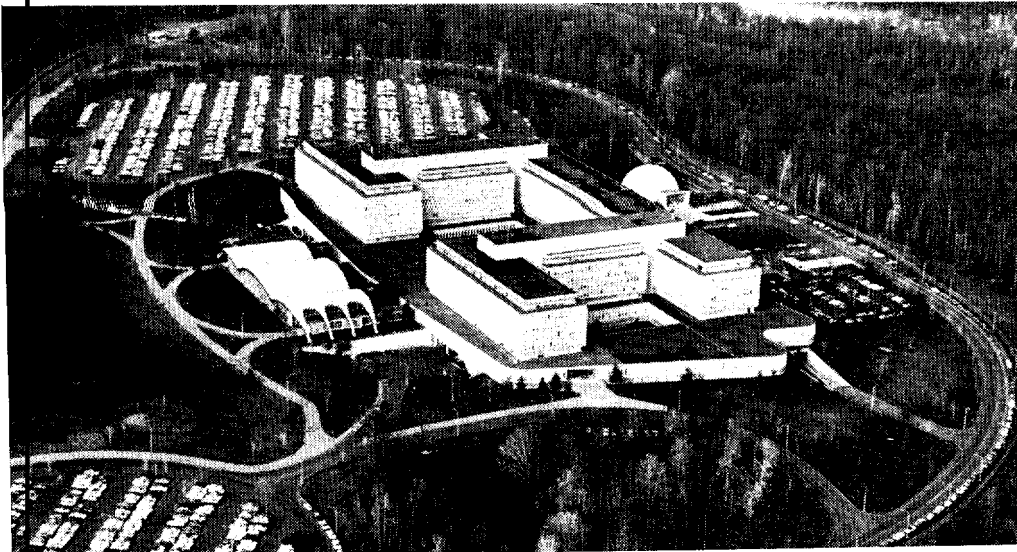
What was to be his real career started in 1943, when Navy Lieut. Helms was transferred to the Office of Strategic Services, a switch that took him from desk duty in New York to Washington, Britain and finally Germany, where he worked under Allen Dulles. After his discharge in 1946, he went into the War Department's intelligence unit, then joined CIA when it was founded.

"Dirty Tricks." Helms's public record for the next five years is a total blank. When he surfaced in 1952, it was as deputy to the chief of the plans division, the so-called "dirty tricks" department, which handles espionage and other undercover operations. Thirteen years later, he was to make a rare autobiographical effusion: "I would suppose that you would describe it as working my way up through the ranks during the years."

Helms became head of the plans division in 1962, when CIA's top echelon was reorganized as a result of the Bay of Pigs fiasco. At this stage, the agency was smarting under severe external criticism and riven by intramural factionalism. Helms, even-tempered and affable, managed to avoid office politics and grudges.

By the time John McCone resigned in 1965, Helms was one of his recommendations as a successor—a natural choice on the basis of experience and ability. He had recruited, trained, assigned and directed many of CIA's most trusted operations agents, and unlike many of his colleagues, he got along well with the State Department and the Pentagon. Nonetheless, President Johnson picked Admiral Raborn as director and made Helms the first deputy. There was a tacit understanding that Raborn's tour would be short and that Helms would use this period to establish himself with the Congressmen who oversee the agency's operations. Senate confirmation was unanimous, and Helms took over

FRED WARD—BLACK STAR



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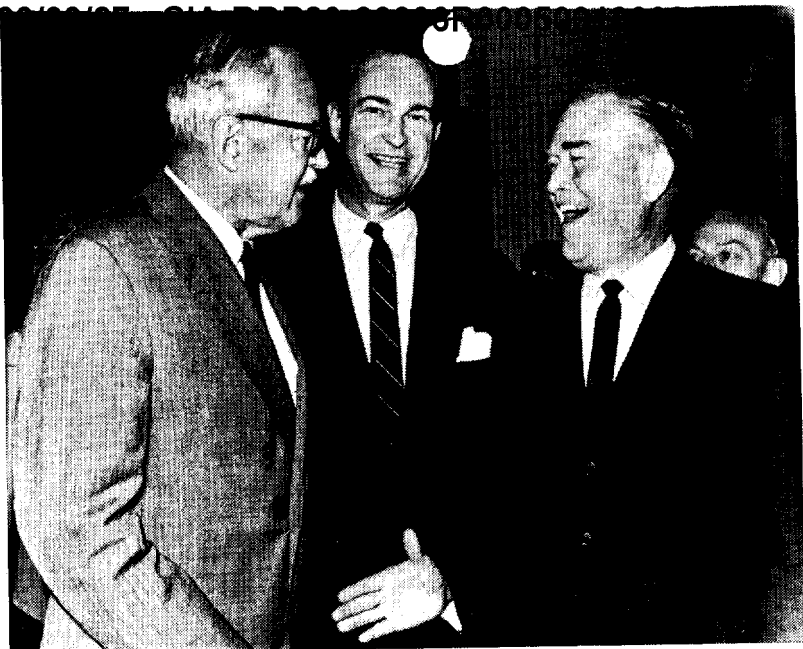
Minus Western intelligence world, Helms remains withdrawn from public view. He has dramatic good looks—tall, lean, dark, with features reminiscent of Rudolph Valentino. Yet, says one close associate, "he is peculiarly minus anecdotes. There is no flamboyance." He lives sedately with his wife in northwest Washington in a modest home from which they rarely join in Washington's social whirl. In a city where most officials ritualistically tote bulging briefcases home, Helms usually goes home empty-handed—and by 7 p.m.

During the Senate committee hearing on his confirmation, Helms performed in a similarly low key, shunning any suggestion that he or CIA sought to be an invisible government. "The CIA takes no action without the appropriate approval of the appropriate officials," he said, "and they are not in the CIA."

The agency Helms runs goes by a number of nicknames—the Third Force, the Silent Service, the Other Agency (among DOS men overseas) and *La Compañia* (in Latin America). The budget is \$500 million a year, an amount that is largely hidden in Defense appropriations and is not subject to item-by-item scrutiny by the Congress. Nevertheless, CIA must account for every penny it spends to a specially trained top-secret team of the Budget Bureau. It is also under the supervision of a top-level Administration group whose membership includes Dick Helms; State Department's Katzenbach; Cyrus R. Vance, Deputy Secretary of Defense; and White House Aide Walt W. Rostow. The group meets at least once a week, examines in great detail every single "black" (covert) operation proposed. Even for "white" (overt) functions, it must approve expenditures as small as \$10,000 if they involve particularly sensitive schemes. There are also CIA watchdog committees in both houses of Congress.

CIA headquarters is an eight-story white concrete building in a wooded, isolated section of Langley, Va., eight miles from Washington. Though once heralded by a profusion of highway signs, state policemen appeared one night in 1961—on specific orders from then Attorney General Robert Kennedy—and tore every one of them down; now the only marker says BPR (for Bureau of Public Roads).

The agency's workaday labors, the tedious accumulation and evaluation of infinite quantities of minutiae, have more in common with IBM's 360 than with Ian Fleming's 007. The task demands high intelligence as well as patience. A State Department veteran once said: "You'll find more liberal intellectuals per square inch at CIA than anywhere else in the Government." Indeed, the agency is staffed from top to bottom with some of the nation's best-qualified experts; 30% have Ph.Ds. They are linguists, economists, cartographers, psychiatrists, agronomists, chem-



DULLES, HELMS & RABORN

*From the heart of the Kremlin to the coverts of the Congo.*

ists, even anthropologists and foresters. CIA experts, it is said, could completely staff a middle-sized college.

The "Get." A scant fraction of the agency's 15,000-odd employees actually go out into the cold. At Langley's elaborate seventh-floor operations center, a bank of high-speed (100 words per minute) printers receive top-secret traffic from the National Security Agency, diplomatic reports from embassies overseas, information from the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency, as well as data from CIA men around the world. In Helms's office, there are "secure" red, grey, blue or white direct-line phones with scramblers attached—on which the President often calls.

The operations room is hooked into the White House Situation Room, the Pentagon's military command post, and the State Department through a near-miraculous phalanx of teletype machines. One data page per minute can be fed in, encoded, flashed to one of the centers, then decoded the instant it arrives. Down the hall from the operations center is a room papered with huge maps. On one set, the war in Viet Nam is plotted with up-to-the-hour reports of combat action and other trouble spots. Another chart may track the course of a Soviet ship bound from Odessa to Cuba—along with U.S. surveillance forces in the area.

One major purpose of all the influx and indexing is the daily compilation of a slim white 8-in. by 10½-in. document that is delivered to the White House in a black CIA car every evening between 6 and 7 o'clock. It bears CIA's emblem stamped in blue, is entitled "The President's Daily Brief," usually runs between three and six pages of single-spaced type, and covers the key intelligence "get" of the day. At times, it may have included such fascinating data as the results of a

urinalysis pinched from a Vienna hospital while a major world leader was a patient, or the latest bedroom exploits of Indonesia's Sukarno or U-2 photographs taken over China.

**Big Boot.** The agency's overseas operations are diversified almost beyond belief. CIA men may control an entire airline (such as Air America, which runs cargo and operatives in Laos, Thailand and Viet Nam), a full-scale broadcasting operation (such as Radio Free Europe). They may pose as missionaries, businessmen, travel agents, brokers or bartenders. They may be seeking infinitely minute pieces of information by paying a paltry \$50 to a Hungarian going home for a visit so that he will take a short drive out of his way to check on the number of Russian troops in Szekesfehervar. Or they may be arranging a revolution—as they did when Premier Mossadegh was deposed in 1953, or when Colonel Jacobo Arbenz was overthrown in Guatemala in 1954.

CIA can boot its errors almost as far as its successes. There was the Bay of Pigs. CIA failed to interpret properly the consistent East German warnings that preceded the Berlin Wall. The agency made a foolish attempt to bribe security police in Singapore.

Naturally enough, CIA's gaffes inspire derisive headlines throughout the world. Just as properly, its successes are little known and seldom disclosed. In an open society like the U.S., there will always be a degree of conflict between the public nature of policymaking and the secret, empirical processes by which decisions must be made and implemented. What is usually overlooked, when CIA is the subject of controversy, is that it is only an arm—and a well-regulated one—of the U.S. Government. It does not, and cannot, manipulate American policies. It can only serve them.

CPYRGHT

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CARL T. ROWAN

## In Defense of the CIA's Undercover 'Links'

When the stream of criticism and contempt for the Central Intelligence Agency rolls so forcefully and resolutely, one risks all manner of accusations if he moves against the tide.

But move against it I must, for there are some tragic aspects of the furor over the CIA's financing student, labor and other private groups that have not been given adequate attention.

Surely I break no vows of secrecy made in my government days if I say now that this string of "exposes" of CIA associations can go on and on. There are dozens of yet unnamed groups that cooperated with CIA—simply because they believed it to be in their children's and the nation's interest.

I admire one of them—the Hobby Foundation of Houston, Texas—for publicly expressing pride in having cooperated.

The disciplines of self-acclaimed intellectualism, or liberalism, or idealism compel some people to deplore these private involvements in the dirty business of waging a cold war. They say the health of the nation requires that our press, universities, students et al remain "free of government manipulation."

I cannot understand the schizophrenia that has caused these purists to exempt the Federal Bureau of Investigation from criticism for so long. The FBI has its hand, and agents, in far more domestic organizations than the CIA. But somehow the press and the public have accepted that as necessary to trap those frightful spies and saboteurs.

It must be reckoned one of the great public relations failures of American history that the CIA has not won acceptance for its clandestine activities on the valid ground that it is fighting the same deadly struggle as the FBI.

As the tedious string of "revelations" unwinds, I conclude that American opinion-molders have become

almost as psychotic about "the CIA" as those foreigners who talk as though the agency is capable of overthrowing their governments on five minutes' notice.

The harsh truth is that these exposures have destroyed the CIA as an effective instrument in many arenas of the cold war that is still being waged furiously, despite the recent talk about "detente." So what the Communists spent billions—unsuccessfully—to do, we Americans, out of our idealism, have delivered to them as a gift.

It disturbs me that this rush to bare CIA "links" has tainted "Crossroads Africa," the "American Society for African Culture" and other groups that have worked honestly and intelligently to keep alive in millions of Africans a faith and hope in democracy.

Sanctimonious, theoretically correct arguments that "private business and industry" should have provided the funds demolish themselves against one hard fact: Business and industry had neither the interest, the attitudes nor the inclination to support these efforts properly.

It bothers me that these

"revelations" have compromised, perhaps fatally in some cases, hundreds of young men and women who might have become leaders of the developing nations.

The wounds inflicted upon the Alliance for Progress are grave.

Many a U.S. Peace Corps worker or diplomat, and numerous foreign scholars and labor leaders who have struggled bravely in the cause of freedom, will have their integrity impugned and their futures jeopardized before this great expose fizzles out.

Sure, one can say the CIA built this colossal tragedy by wrongly involving all these peoples and groups in the first place.

I say nonsense. Several presidents, several cabinets, dozens of congressmen and the leaders of all the groups involved went into this business with their eyes wide open. And it wasn't because of an ugly assumption that the ends justify the means, as some idealists argue. They made a practical recognition of the fact that the adversary had already set the dirty rules of battle, so either we played by his rules or got our brains beaten out.

I can't find it in my journalistic heart to say the press is wrong to dredge up all it has about CIA "covers." Yet, I have an uneasy feeling that in pursuit of a hallowed bit of journalistic dogma, we are slaying some dragons that will come back to haunt our progeny.

I keep remembering President Kennedy saying to the American Newspaper Publishers Association in 1961:

"This nation's foes have openly boasted of acquiring through our newspapers information they would otherwise hire agents to acquire through theft, bribery or espionage . . .

"Today no war has been declared — and however fierce the struggle, it may never be declared in traditional fashion . . .

"If the press is awaiting a declaration of war before it imposes the self-discipline of combat conditions, then I can only say that no war ever posed a greater threat to our security."

Is it heresy for me to ask whether the benefits to "freedom" accruing from these exposes of the CIA are great enough to balance out the damage done to our security?

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The World Today

CPYRGHT

*Espionage Is an Old, Old National Custom*By JAMES MARLOW  
AP News Analyst

WASHINGTON (AP) — It's as old as man.

The House demanded to know about the secret use of government funds in foreign affairs. The President refused to explain. This wasn't President Lyndon B. Johnson. It was President James K. Polk 121 years ago.

Now the Central Intelligence Agency is criticized for secret financial help to U.S. groups, such as students, involved with similar groups overseas where this government tries to block Communist influence and takeovers.

It can be taken for granted that's only part of CIA's operations, that it spends millions in spies, bribes and subsidies. None of this is new.

Polk told Congress that under a law of 1810 he had the right, for the public, to say nothing about secret spending in foreign affairs if publicly would hurt the national interest. He said this was every nation's experience.

The very first Congress passed a law like that of 1810 in 1790 under the presidency of George Washington who, during the revolution, was up to his neck in espionage.

Some authorities think he was the sharpest man in this field in American history up until the

time William J. Donovan became head of the Office of Strategic Services in World War II.

The shock of Pearl Harbor — the lack of coordinated and organized information which made the Japanese attack possible — produced OSS. In turn, CIA was a product of the cold war. Yet, the British and French had organized espionage since the 17th century.

Because most historians skip over spywork, all most Americans remember about espionage in the revolution is that Major John Andre, the British spy, and Nathan Hale, the American spy, were hanged.

But the British were good at it. During the revolution, when Benjamin Franklin went to Paris to line up the French on the American side, one of the advisors he considered a patriotic American was a well-paid British spy.

In the 1790's, when this country sent envoys to Paris to ward off war with the French, Talleyrand, the French foreign minister, refused to see them but sent in confidential agents who wanted a bribe of \$250,000.

One authority on espionage in the Civil War recently expressed the belief that the Union side alone had about 4,200 spies. In his special war message to Congress in 1917 President Woodrow Wilson said the Germans had already so saturated this country with their spies "they could never be our friends."

But spies, bribes and informers go away\* back. The Bible had its share: Judas, for informing on Jesus, got 30 pieces of silver. When Samson gave the Philistines the miseries, they promised Delilah 1,100 pieces of silver for finding out where his strength lay. She discovered it was in his hair and when he went to sleep she brought in a man to cut it off.

Machiavelli made a name for himself with his 16th century study, *The Prince*, on how, including dirty tricks, an ambitious man could take power. But 1,180 years before that, in India, Kautilya wrote a similar but not so well known book.

It was even more detailed than Machiavelli's, with all kinds of dirty tricks spelled out. It wasn't translated into English until about 1900.

Napoleon had one of the best spies in history, Karl Schumacher, who got well paid for pretending to the Austrians he was all on their side and then coming them into attacking the French at Ulm, at the wrong time.

The Romans were said to have used carrier pigeons and swallows for sending secret information. Greek history is full of double-dealing. Historian J. B. Bury, writing of the Greeks in decline, says public opinion thought no worse of a man for taking a bribe from a foreign power and considered one who didn't "superhuman."

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# CIA: OTHER SIDE OF THE STORY— WHAT REDS ARE DOING

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When light is shed on the undercover war the Communists are waging against the U. S. everywhere, you can see what the Central Intelligence Agency faces trying to combat them.

Soviet agents are formidable, unscrupulous, constantly on the offensive on many fronts. This report on how they operate comes from top intelligence officials, here and abroad.

CPYRGHT Reported from  
WORLD CAPITALS

One question that keeps coming up in the latest controversy over the Central Intelligence Agency is this:

Just whom or what is the CIA fighting?

The answer is found in the other side of the CIA story—the facts on what the Communists are doing all over the world to penetrate and grab control of organizations, underwrite treason and terrorism, stir up strife, stage revolutions, steal secrets.

It is the CIA's job to combat these activities of the Reds in the cold-war struggle that has been going on in the back alleys of the world for more than 20 years.

From intelligence officials in the U. S. and abroad come authoritative accounts of what the CIA is fighting, how the Communists operate and reasons for such CIA programs as subsidization of work in the foreign field by some student, labor and other organizations.

Disclosure of this financing brought the agency under fire, compromised some of its efforts and even led to demands that the CIA be abolished.

**Reds' use of fronts.** As part of its plot to achieve world domination, Moscow-directed Communism maneuvers through international front groups.

Worldwide, U. S. intelligence experts say, the Communists have 11 such organizations—all under direct control of the KGB, the Soviet Committee for State Security, "operational headquarters" for Russia's whole cold-war scheme.

These fronts are designed to appeal to almost every interest. There is a World

Peace Council, and there are international fronts for labor, youth, women, students, teachers, scientists, lawyers, newspapermen, radio-TV workers and "resistance movements."

The head of the KGB—who at this time is Nikolai Anisimovich Shchelokov—is one of the world's most powerful Communists because his agency controls all of Russia's foreign and military intelligence as well as Soviet internal security.

In American terms, that would be like putting one man in charge of the CIA, the FBI and all of the military intelligence services.

The importance that the Soviet Union places on front organizations is shown by this example:

Alexandr Shelepin was a vice president of the International Union of Students when it was founded in 1946. He later became a vice president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Shelepin then shot up to become head of the all-powerful KGB. He now is a top official of the Soviet Communist Party.

**Methods of operation.** How do Communist fronts operate? Here is one way:

Fronts recruit young Africans, Asians and Latin Americans for training in Communist countries—as labor leaders or guerrilla fighters. The brightest are taught

how to overthrow governments and set up Communist regimes. An ultimate aim is to recruit young Americans.

A major objective of KGB, working through fronts, is to draw non-Communists into unity with Communists. Such a drive now is on the upswing in Western Europe, spearheaded by two of the groups, the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Union of Students.

A former KGB official who defected to the West says that 80 per cent of Soviet personnel abroad are "trained professional spies."

The KGB, this man says, rates the U. S. as its No. 1 target and seeks to isolate America from its allies on the theory that, when this isolation is accomplished, the U. S. will "crumble from within."

The "unite and capture" theme runs through all Communist-front efforts, such as the World Youth Festivals that draw thousands from all over the world.

Costs of these events are high. The Moscow festival in 1957, for instance, is estimated to have cost up to 150 million dollars. The Vienna affair in 1959 cost 50 million. The Communist outlay on the youth festival in Helsinki in 1962 was around 30 million.

Another one is to take place next year in Sofia, Bulgaria—and the Russians already are blaring propaganda against the American delegation because of the revelation that CIA money financed trips by some young Americans to previous festivals.

**Bonanza for the enemy.** The "exposé" of this CIA subsidy—which was carried out under national policy established years ago—is described by U. S. officials as a windfall for the Communists. At earlier festivals, the Americans—even though few of them knew that CIA money was helping to pay their expenses—succeeded in blunting effects the Communists hoped to achieve.

In Communist countries, fronts pay travel costs for students, labor leaders and others. Communist funds also have financed travel by the Reds' American sympathizers—including students—to points behind the Iron Curtain and to Red Cuba.

The KGB is said to have almost unlimited funds at its disposal—despite Russia's shortage of foreign exchange—and more manpower than the CIA, the FBI and U. S. military intelligence combined.



—Sovfoto

**HEAD OF KGB, Nikolai Shchelokov, is one of the world's most powerful Reds. His agency controls all Russian intelligence as well as Soviet internal security.**

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## WHEN THE "COVER WAS BLOWN"

*A veteran U. S. intelligence official, discussing public disclosure that CIA funds were being used secretly to finance some American students at international conferences, said this:*

"The U. S., not just the CIA, suffered a severe defeat in this thing.

"The U. S. still must fight to prevent the Communists from having all their own way in international meetings of students—or teachers, or scientists, journalists, labor unions, whatever.

"But now that the CIA cover has been 'blown,' the job will cost much more. And it will take a long time before any U. S. organization or group can regain the effectiveness that the National Student Association had.

"These students were not instructed how to act, except in a very few cases. Main reliance was on the American instincts and patriotism of almost all the students who were financially helped to attend.

"The main arm of the Soviet Government's constant battle to discredit everything American—Moscow's so-called 'Department of Disinformation'

—has been sniping at the National Student Association for years. But it never was able to prove anything.

"Now the Americans have given them the ammunition—perfect ammunition with which to fight any American delegation at any international meeting.

"The Americans have acted to 'devour our own children.'"



—Wide World Photo

**Americans at a youth festival: The main reliance was on their patriotism.**

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One division of the KGB—the "Department of Disinformation," or Department D—operates in the propaganda field. It plants false information, including forged documents, wherever an opportunity exists to smear and discredit the U. S. specifically and the West generally.

In this, Department D gets help from such fronts as the World Peace Council, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

An illustration: The World Peace Council spread charges during the Korean conflict that the U. S. was using germ warfare. And two other fronts, the International Association of Democratic Lawyers and the World Federation of Scientific Workers, sent "investigating commissions" to obtain "evidence" in support of the charge.

**What do Reds seek?** What the Communists are attempting to accomplish by undercover methods in every country was made clear in a recent public statement by the chief espionage official in the Security Ministry of Communist East Germany. He was talking about Germany, but he was enunciating the KGB line for all non-Communist countries. This top Red spy said:

"To procure information and material is only one task of our organization.

"The other and more important task is to make use of the material and the knowledge gained for political purposes—to blackmail the enemy, to demoralize the

Communist Party victorious in the whole of Germany."

Like all spymasters in satellite states, the East German official is under KGB control.

In every part of the world, secret Communist activity poses a threat.

Sometimes these activities are flushed into the open. On one such occasion, in 1965, Communist financial support for terrorists in Venezuela was exposed when three Red couriers carrying \$330,000 in cash were seized and jailed.

Venezuelan officials said that the three—two women and a man—were agents of the Italian Communist Party, which Moscow had assigned the job of smuggling money to guerrillas in Venezuela.

The Communist move failed in that instance because of counterintelligence like that in which the CIA—according to members of other intelligence organizations—excels. But Venezuelan terrorists continue to get arms and money from the Communists.

One Communist faction in Venezuela receives weapons and training from Fidel Castro's Cuba—where, only 90 miles from U. S. shores, the KGB has a big stake. Cuba is a transfer point for the Red paymasters and spymasters in Latin America.

**From the inside—** Throughout South America, Communist "political action" agents infiltrate student groups and labor unions, whip up agitation among peasants and subsidize bandits.

sources say, control all but four of the national student federations in Latin America—in all countries except Costa Rica, Bolivia, Chile and perhaps Uruguay. The Communist-front International Union of Students claims, in fact, that 82 of the world's national student federations are affiliated with it.

In the Middle East, the present Soviet objective, as defined by U. S. officials on the scene, is to stir up enough trouble to threaten the stability of countries in which the U. S. has influence—particularly those where Americans control big oil reserves.

Examples of the KGB at work in the Middle East include riots instigated by Communist agents in Jordan, massive supplies of arms to Syria, bombings in Saudi Arabia and floods of Communist propaganda pouring from Cairo, which is headquarters for a number of Communist fronts, such as the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization.

**Africa: Agents busy.** In Africa, the Reds are trying to keep the whole continent in turmoil.

Moscow and Red China bankroll opponents of President Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya. Communist influence in Tanzania has grown to the point where the Government has undertaken to nationalize most private business. The Chinese Communists used their embassy in Burundi as a relay point for weapons and funds sent to rebels operating against the Congolese Government in Kinshasa.

In the other Congo, of which Brazza-



## CIA: OTHER SIDE OF THE STORY

[continued from preceding page]

ville is the capital, Communists—including Cubans—control the military forces. In Ghana, until they were thwarted by the coup that ousted Kwame Nkrumah, Soviet agents had penetrated the Government to the point where they controlled Nkrumah's personal army and were building a military base to be used for operations throughout West Africa.

The Communists regularly supply weapons to rebels in Portuguese Angola and Mozambique. In Somalia, the Army is equipped and influenced by the Communists. Soviet agents are fomenting trouble in Ethiopia. In Tunisia, Communist penetration is mainly through students. In Algeria, Soviet economic aid is a lever used by the KGB.

North of Africa, in the Mediterranean area, a step-up of Communism's covert actions coincides with the growing Soviet naval presence. All along the fringe of the Mediterranean, KGB men are busy. One piece of evidence: secret stockpiles of weapons, uncovered in Greece.

Communist-front efforts are paying off in West Germany and elsewhere in Europe. In 1966, for the first time, West German non-Communist unions were persuaded to send delegations to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Russia. A British trade-union group sent representatives to Russia. A Catholic federation of trade unions in France was induced to take joint action with the Communist-controlled French labor federation.



—Andrew St. George Photo

**"POLITICAL ACTION"** agents spread Red propaganda throughout Latin America; they infiltrate student and labor groups and whip up agitation among the peasants.

Some of Britain's non-Communist organizations have been heavily infiltrated by Communists and used to promote Soviet propaganda against the U. S.

One of these groups—the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament—mobilized strong opposition to American nuclear strategy and to British ties with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The British Union of Students is now the top target for Communist penetration.

**How Asia is affected.** In Asia, the World Federation of Trade Unions has been the principal transmission belt for Communist orders.

The series of Communist insurrections which broke out over recent years in

country after country—Vietnam, Indonesia, India, Burma and the Philippines—received the "go" signal from trade-union centers.

Although the attempted Red revolution in Indonesia in 1965 was smashed, large numbers of Communists remain. Both Moscow and Peking are trying again, U. S. intelligence officials believe, to rebuild for another revolt.

In the Philippines, where suppression of the Huk uprising in the early 1950s is counted as one of the CIA's great, but largely unpublicized, victories, the Communists again are trying to activate a Huk rebellion.

A staff study just released by the U. S. Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee says this:

"Previous hearings have established that Moscow has, in the past, distributed vast sums, along with its directives, through various secret channels to support subversive activities in countries outside Russia, including the United States, and there is every reason to believe that this practice continues."

**The CIA's role.** Countering Communist activities inside the U. S. is a task of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the CIA which has the responsibility for combatting actions in the rest of the world which are inimical to the interests of this country.

In carrying out that mission, the CIA must face enemies of many kinds—enemies masked as "do-gooders" as well as enemies trained in the dark arts of subversion, espionage, blackmail and assassination—all dedicated to the Communist aim once stated bluntly by Nikita Khrushchev and never denied by his succes-



—Wide World Photo

DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST U. S. are frequent in Asia, where leadership is often provided by Communist fronts.